

LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of Labour Unity

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Editor : R. Palme Dutt

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FROM the other side of the world Japanese trade unionists send greetings for 'peace, freedom, independence and higher living standards'—and so sum up the prospect before us. What man sees as possible, he makes come true; for, as William Blake wrote at the time of the French Revolution: *'What is now believed was once only imagin'd'*. During the past twelve months millions more people have begun to look confidently forward to the time when, in that poet's words, *'Empire is no more! and now the Lion and Wolf shall cease!'* No lesser prospect will content the millions who make the simple contrast between the growing strength of forces for peace, brotherhood, democracy and independence with what the Lion and Wolf have to offer—H-bombs, war pacts and bases, punitive expeditions, vast acres put out of food production, short-time and wage restraint. The prospect of peaceful co-existence and competition terrify only Beasts of Prey. Hence the confidence in the greetings reaching us from a score of countries, from the Israeli and Egyptian readers, the Maltese, Cypriot and Greek no less than the Chinese and Indian.

With them, an increasing note of confidence is struck by readers in Britain, wishing us and themselves 'all the best' for 1956. Take just three. An active West Country Labour Party reader notes that 'we are making progress, at least internationally, if not in this country.

Even here there is a lot of support for our ideas, which will crystallise when a suitable opportunity arises. It certainly appears to be reaching such a state in France, and will have repercussions here'. A Scot working 'in a small corner of the world, almost completely surrounded by reactionaries, with real temptation to give way to depression and even despair', feels his spirit rise again seeing 'the broad world outlook is full of hope. I look to 1956 as a year of triumphs for L.M. and for our great cause of peace, socialism and human happiness'. A Yorkshire teacher bubbling with enthusiasm for R.P.D.'s January Notes, *New Worlds for Old* as 'one of the most heartening things to read', goes on: 'Aren't the French election results also magnificent and heartening? And even we teachers are on the move, never before so determined and united. So here's a small gift in jubilation and recognition of L.M.'s services'.

Why Slow Progress?

NOTICE that 'even here' and 'even we'? What makes people ready to expect only slow progress in Britain, after generations of bitter experience and strongly organised trade unions? A very big question indeed; but this current number is devoted to battering away at three obstacles which must be understood and surmounted for the tempo to be speeded up. To one obstacle—colonialism—three articles are devoted; on Cyprus, Nkrumah and the Gold Coast, Israel

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Notes of the Month

Leadership and Policy in Britain

‘One has often wondered whether there is anything so unintelligent, so unapt to perceive how the world is really going as an ordinary young Englishman of our upper class.’
MATTHEW ARNOLD.

WHITHER Britain? Last month we wrote of ‘New Worlds for Old’ to describe the breath-taking world advance of the majority of humanity which is now taking place, with more and more countries ranging themselves alongside the socialist world in the cause of peace and economic co-operation, and with the consequent increasing isolation and disarray of the leaders of imperialist policy and the cold war. This advance continues to sweep forward. The Middle East is throwing off old shackles. Jordan, long subject Jordan, has defied its overlords and refused to be dragged into the Baghdad Pact. The French people have given a magnificent opening to the new year by their overwhelming vote

for a change of policy to the left. The new Soviet Five Year Plan has given a dazzling vision of the new goals which socialism will achieve, at the very same moment as the blackest pictures are painted of the economic prospect here. The majority of mankind is now moving forward with confidence and joy to a new future. But where does Britain stand in this world advance? It is necessary to pose this question sharply. For the most serious warning signs are showing for Britain and the British people in 1956, unless the present course is changed.

Towards What Goals?

What is the prospect for Britain in 1956? What fruits is the visit of Sir Anthony Eden to Washington likely to bring? What new joys are the Treasury and the industrialists preparing for the working people? Is Britain to continue to be dragged behind the mad dog policies of a Dulles who boasts of his system of bringing the world to the 'brink' of a new world war twice a year as the peak and master-stroke of diplomacy? Is the highest achievement of production for 1956 to be the manufacture and testing of Britain's first hydrogen bomb, at the same time as the credit squeeze and restriction cuts down every constructive sphere of production and social expenditure? Is the best use of manpower to be the dispatch of more troops or paratroops to Cyprus or Jordan or Malaya or Kenya, in the vain effort to extinguish the flames of freedom and of the desire for peace which are sweeping through the peoples of Asia and Africa? Will the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, fresh from his laurels of obstruction at Geneva in the autumn, give the green light to the big financiers and lords of monopoly to let loose the 'showdown' economic offensive of which they dream, in order to reach the glorious Mecca of the 'pool of unemployment' and lower standards?

The Battle Decides

Or will the advancing militancy of the working people, which has been already demonstrated last year in the highest strike level since the war, in the revolt of the left within the trade unions and the Labour Party, in the pressure of the people for peace which compelled the last-minute somersault of Eden and Eisenhower to agree to the meeting of Heads of States at Geneva, be further carried forward in 1956 to defeat the threatened offensive, to compel a change of course in foreign policy and home affairs, and to open the way

to a new political alignment? The answer to these questions does not lie in predictions. It lies in the battle, both industrial and political, which is in prospect in the internal situation in Britain in the coming year. It depends above all on the strength and unity of the left, around the leadership of the Communist Party, which alone voices an alternative policy to the present disastrous policy of the government and of the dominant leadership of the two major parties, to rally the mass of the labour movement and of the people in the fight for such an alternative policy.

A Contrast of Two Worlds

When the entire official and semi-official press of this country poured out such a flood of impotent fury and venom over the utterances of the Soviet leaders during their visit to the countries of Southern Asia, it was not just the utterances that had aroused them to such a pitch. Words do not kill. It was the reception given to those utterances and to that visit. It was the realisation in London and Washington that the world outside imperialism was moving to new horizons beyond their ken, that the majority of mankind had judged the narrow clique of war leaders of Western imperialism and was turning the balance against them. Consider the picture of the world as seen by an Indian progressive non-communist journalist in one of the most widely circulated weekly journals of India :

The focus of the world has now shifted to the Orient, to Asia; and the U.S.S.R. has wisely cast its lot with India and China in sharing the burden of the leadership of the new world of peace and co-existence and freedom and progress. . . .

Contrast this prophecy of a brave new world with the shadow of decadence and doom which hovers over the old. Ours is a creative and dynamic world. . . . Theirs is a barren and destructive one, blind and sick with guilt and fear, resorting in utter desperation to neo-colonialism and warlike alliances. (R. K. Karanjia, in *Blitz*, December 17, 1955.)

This is not the picture of the world as presented by the official spokesmen of London and Washington, or brayed forth through their myriad broadcasting and press propaganda chains. But it is how the world is coming to look to extending millions, far beyond the socialist two fifths of the world, to scores and hundreds of millions who have suffered from imperialism and now look forward with hope to a new future through association with the socialist world. It is time for public opinion in Britain to realise this shift in the world focus, and to recognise that in this new world picture Britain is seen by extending millions, not as the hub of advanced civilisation, whatever its faults and cruelties, but as a backward,

declining and obstructive force in the world—until such time as the strength of the people shall bring changes here too.

Soviet Five Year Plan

Consider the significance of the new Soviet Five Year Plan and the contrast of the present economic situation in the capitalist world or the gloomy prospect held out by the political and business leaders of Britain and the United States. On the one side, a daring vision of concretely specified goals of advance in every sphere, economic and social, such as already begins to bring into view the near and realisable prospect of overtaking and outstripping the highest levels of productivity of the capitalist world after centuries of development, alongside the sweep forward of the social, educational and scientific advance which has already left the capitalist world behind by every social and cultural measure. It is not merely the physical volume of the immediate levels that will be reached, the steel production three and a half times the present British level, or electricity production more than four times the present British level. It is the confident mastery and incorporation in the plan of all the new sources of power and potentialities of production, for the large-scale utilisation of atomic power and automation, or the vastest extension of education and technical and scientific training on a scale human society has never known, which is conjuring up new vistas that have staggered and startled all the experts of the capitalist world. While the Gaitskells and the Morrisons are breaking their heads on the profound problem of searching to discover what socialism might mean, if it means anything at all, socialism is being proved in deeds in the balance of world history.

And Here?

What have the Butlers and Macmillans, the McGowans and Nuffields, or the Labour New Policy makers to offer Britain that could compare with one hundredth part of the Soviet Five Year Plan? No doubt the intrepid Mr. Butler, who during the election could give no sign of foreseeing his interim budget of six months ahead, was audaciously ready to offer an election 'promise' to double the standard of living in twenty-five years. He knew that such a promise was as safe as to offer to take all the electors to the moon in a century from now; since within twenty-five years he and his colleagues would have long vanished from the political scene, and no one would even recall the ancient pledge any more than any one

recalls today the figure of Young Plan reparations payments which the second Labour Government triumphantly announced Germany would be paying Britain in 1984. But to see ahead five years from now? Why, the foremost experts of the United States and Britain would hesitate to predict the economic situation twelve months from now. The most optimistic hope that the recession may not yet develop this year, but perhaps next year, while others see the prospect of a shift to the worse for the latter part of this year. Has the Labour Party leadership a plan to offer Britain? Certainly. They have a Three Year Plan of Study to take the rank and file back 'to the classroom' in order to discover what their policy is as an alternative to socialism. Have the capitalists a plan? Certainly. They have a plan to increase unemployment, restrict productive expansion, pay farmers to leave land idle, and to reduce living standards.

Higher Output and Higher Standards

In vain the capitalist commentators seek to cover up their discomfiture by emphasising the priority correctly given to heavy industry as the key to the most rapid all-round productive advance (70 per cent. planned increase of output for heavy industry and 60 per cent. for the consumption goods industries), and to present this as a supposed 'blow' for the unhappy Soviet consumer. 'A Stern Plan', judged *The Times* on January 16. 'Stern austerity and sacrifices are still the keynote'. Consumption goods, laments *The Times*, are 'only' going to be increased by 60 per cent. in five years. Unhappy Soviet consumer. Does any economist or political leader offer to increase the supply of consumer goods here by 60 per cent. in five years? Housebuilding is 'only' going to be doubled, to reach five million new houses and flats in five years. Woollen supplies are 'only' going to be doubled, meat supplies increased by 85 per cent., or milk, eggs and dairy products trebled. Pity the poor Soviet consumer subjected to 'austerity and sacrifices', and all the horrors of rising incomes, more goods and lower prices. How he must envy the lot of the fortunate British consumer, who has not only been able to revel in ceaselessly rising prices, but whose kindly leaders have proclaimed to him their glorious and inspiring aim to restrict home consumption.

'The Times' Demands Higher Wages

Real wages in the Soviet Union, grieves *The Times*, 'are to increase only by 30 per cent.' in five years. What a refreshing change to discover *The Times* in the vanguard of the battle for higher wages.

A mere 30 per cent. increase in real wages is nothing to the vaulting ambitions of *The Times* on the extreme left. How many lectures have been delivered during all these years against the 'ill-considered' and 'ignorant' demands of the workers for higher wages, in the desperate endeavour to keep up with rising prices (that is, merely to maintain real wages, let alone raise them), to point out that first, output must be increased before wages can be increased, and that output can only be increased by peaceful co-operation with the benevolent and efficient employers in charge of British capitalist industry. And at the end of the rigmarole what has been achieved within the conditions of capitalism? Over the sixteen years between 1938 and 1954 even the Government's official claim only ventures to allege that output under capitalism has increased by 27 per cent. in all or by 12 per cent. per head, and real consumption by $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per head. During the five years alone between 1950 and 1955, under socialism, the output of industry has increased by 85 per cent., to three times the pre-war level, real wages have risen by 39 per cent., the real income of farmers by 50 per cent., and the output of consumption goods by 76 per cent. And now real wages are to increase by a further 30 per cent., or a bigger absolute increase than during the previous five years, and reaching a level 80 per cent. above 1950. We look forward to the prospect of *The Times* editorialists demonstrating in Trafalgar Square for a corresponding increase for British workers.

The New Spectre

The 'spectre' of communism or socialism has gone through many shapes and forms since the original victory of the socialist revolution. First, there was the spectre of the 'export of revolution'. Then there was the spectre of the 'dumping' of 'products of slave labour'. Now there is a new spectre. It is the horrible spectre of education, of science, of technological advance. Secondary education to the age of seventeen, already established in all the larger cities, is to become universal in the Soviet Union during the Sixth Five Year Plan—at a time when the fulfilment of the Fisher Act to the age of sixteen is found 'impossible' in Britain and the Gradgrinds are busily campaigning against the 'useless extra year' to the age of fifteen. The existing number of 1,800,000 students in universities and higher educational institutions in the Soviet Union is to sweep forward to new heights—at the moment when the academic authorities here are congratulating themselves on having reduced the number of students during the last few years to 80,000 in 1953-54

(72,000 from within Britain), and many complain that this number is 'excessive' in relation to fitness for higher education or prospects of employment. And now the training of higher technicians in the Soviet Union is to be increased by 50 per cent.—just after the Western world has been sufficiently startled by the statement of Professor Zuckerman, Chairman of the Committee on Scientific Management, quoting the U.S. National Science Foundation Report, that in the Soviet Union 'university graduates in engineering now reach about 60,000 as compared with 22,000 in the United States and 3,000 in Britain' (*The Times Educational Supplement*, December 30, 1955).

Devilish Weapons

Sir Francis Simon, Professor of Thermodynamics at Oxford, broadcasting on the Third Programme on January 15, informed his hearers that in the Soviet Union 'for some years ever increasing numbers had been entering their schools of higher education—by 1954 greater numbers than in the whole non-Communist world put together'. No wonder the Western commentators are discovering here a devilish new 'secret weapon' of Communism—the spread of science and education, those inventions of Satan. While the West has been concentrating all its efforts on the holy task of piling up more and more nuclear weapons of destruction, raising arms expenditure (President Eisenhower's Budget, raising military expenditure by £323 million, and devoting 64 per cent. of expenditure to war preparations followed the day after the announcement of the Soviet Five Year Plan), extending foreign military bases, or building up ramshackle military alliances against the 'Soviet menace', they suddenly discover with exasperation that the whole ground has been changed. The Soviet Union has the impudence to present the spectacle, not of 'Russian hordes overrunning Europe', as per schedule, but of a highly educated scientifically competent community confronting the over-armed and semi-illiterate West. What weapons has N.A.T.O. against this new 'menace'? What about it, General Gruenther? What about it, Mr. Dulles?

Envy and Impotence

No wonder Sir Winston Churchill calls grandiosely for the immediate provision of a vast array of new scientific and higher technical training institutions. Blind fools. For such provision of large-scale scientific and technical education is not simply a question of flinging out some dollars or sterling to order new institutes like

half a pound of cheese. It requires to rest on the foundation of the whole educational system at primary and secondary levels, on the whole allocation of man-power, on the apportionment of resources between destructive and constructive aims, on the capacity of absorption by a planned economy—in short on the entire structure of a socialist society. The superiority of socialism is being demonstrated anew in new ways that none can escape. And if the by-product of the Soviet example should be to stimulate a little increase in the niggardly provision for education in the West, let us be thankful for small mercies, until such time as we take in hand the long overdue socialist reorganisation of our own society, to begin to approach comparable results.

France Moves Left

It is not surprising that in this situation, with this tremendous peaceful advance of the socialist world beyond the possibility of concealment, and with more and more countries moving into association with the socialist world as the hope of the future, stirrings should also make themselves felt in the countries of the West. The results of the French elections at the opening of the year are a portent. Their significance does not lie merely in the strength of the vote of the Communist Party, which, in the face of all the power of money, calumny and foreign pressure exercised against it, continues to hold first place in the hearts of the French people, with an increase of half a million votes to five and a half millions. The attempt of the hostile press to inflate the significance of the Poujade two and a half million vote as the 'parallel' 'extremist' counterpart and 'new' force revealed by the election is to turn the result of the election upside down. The Gaullist 21 per cent. of the vote in 1951 fell to 17 per cent. for the combined vote of the Poujadists, Gaullists and Extreme Right in 1956; so that, while the menace of the hard core of fascism or potential fascism or disillusioned sections in its orbit, which had followed in turn Petain, de Gaulle and now Poujade, remained, its strength had diminished. The decisive significance of the vote was the indisputable majority for a policy of the left and a government of the left. It is significant that even Mendès-France made an electoral issue of sharp criticism of N.A.T.O. policies. The potential partners of a Popular Front won three fifths of the votes and a majority of the seats; had a united front of Communists and Socialists been formed to fight the election, as the Communist Party proposed, and as almost half the Socialist Party desired, there is every indication that it would have won the majority of the seats.

Whatever the immediate difficulties in forming a Government to correspond even partially to the manifest desires of the majority of the electorate, there is no doubt that the movement for a Popular Front sweeps forward in France.

Political Unease in Britain

In Britain the political conditions do not provide the same possibilities for a clear manifestation of the popular will or of the desire for a change from the existing war policies to a policy for peace and social advance. But political unsettlement has been visible in the sharp questions of leadership which have arisen in both the major parties. In the Conservative Party the reconstruction of the Cabinet, with the shifting of both the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Foreign Minister, has been followed by a noisy barrage of criticism in the Tory press and in upper Tory ranks against the leadership of Eden as Premier. In the Labour Party the replacement of Attlee as Leader took place under conditions of pressure, to which he made direct and bitter reference in his statement of resignation; while the appointment of Gaitskell as his successor by a majority of the parliamentary representatives, without reference to the Labour Party Conference or membership, whose constituency parties had emphatically rejected Gaitskell even for a seat on the Executive, constituted the most open expression of the offensive of the right wing against the rank and file membership and rising revolt and demand for a socialist policy. These indications of political unsettlement on top in Britain, even within the rigid framework of the two party system, have taken place against the background of a worsening economic situation, whose seriousness can no longer be denied. The past year has shown an increase in the trade deficit by £265 million, and a further fall in the gold reserves by £229 million; while the curtailment of working in the motor car industry has aroused alarm in the working class on the prospect of the future and shaken the belief in the reformist myth of stable full employment under capitalism.

Tory Government Reconstruction

The reconstruction of the Eden Cabinet has been an initial sign of the uneasy conditions in Tory leadership and policy. The height of new opportunity for Britain was reached at the Geneva Conference of Heads of State in the summer. The positive outcome of that Conference was universally welcomed by popular opinion. An

unparalleled opportunity was opened for Britain to advance along the path of a peaceful policy and for the reduction of the burden of armaments, to decrease dependence on the United States and to open new channels of trade. During the past six months that opportunity has been frittered away by the Tory Cabinet. The campaign to deny and damn the Geneva spirit, the return to the language and methods of the cold war, and the obstruction of the second Geneva Conference have been followed by a visible fall in Britain's standing throughout the world, a worsening of foreign relations, especially in the Middle East, a worsening of the economic situation and discredit of the Government at home. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was shifted at the moment when he was exposed by the unfavourable outcome of his optimistic electoral boasting and sunshine budget in the spring. The Foreign Secretary was shifted after he had returned empty-handed from his obstruction of peace at Geneva. The Minister of Labour was shifted after his conciliatory methods had failed to check wage increases.

Right Wing Tory Offensive

But after the Cabinet reconstruction Tory reaction has continued in full cry for harsher measures. Influential sections even called for the replacement of Eden as too 'weak', 'indecisive', 'dilatory', etc. When the *Daily Telegraph* came out with the harshest criticism of Eden, or when the *Spectator* complained that 'Sir Anthony Eden has not made the most obvious change of all—in the tenure of 10 Downing Street', it was obvious that this campaign could not be dismissed as a mere stunt of the more sensational organs of the Tory press. It is probable that the reasons underlying this campaign covered both foreign policy and home policy. On foreign policy it was understood that the primary aim of Sir Anthony Eden, who was rumoured to have had some differences with Macmillan's extreme anti-Soviet line and to have opposed his demand for a cancellation of the Soviet visit, through the Cabinet reconstruction was to take more personal control of foreign policy—a prospect which 'chilled' the 'spine' of the *Spectator*. The aim of the critics was shown in the campaign to cancel the Soviet visit—a demand which was only partially appeased by the agreement to hold a separate Anglo-American meeting first. But it was in the home field that the right wing Tory campaign was most open and obvious. All the powerful organisations of the big industrialists and financiers and their press organs came out with an outcry for a 'showdown' policy against labour, for the creation of a 'pool of unemployment',

generally presented at a figure of three quarters of a million as an ideal, for the rejection of wage increases, and for 'drastic' and 'unpopular' measures in the financial field and in the reduction of social expenditure. In short, a full old-fashioned employers' and financiers' offensive on a scale they had not dared to attempt or even present so openly since the war.

Preparing for the Battle

What shall be the response of the Labour and trade union movement to this open offensive of Big Business and Toryism? This is the key question of the internal situation in Britain, and is integrally bound up with the fight against the war policy and for peace, just as the victory of the fight for peace is the indispensable condition for economic and social advance. This offensive is being launched at a moment when the spirit of the working class is very far from being cowed or submissive. The Tory election victory of May was not a measure of Tory popularity; the Tory vote went down by half a million. It was a measure of the unpopularity of the Right Wing Labour leaders and their failure to fight Toryism, with the result that the Labour vote went down even more, by one and a half millions, and on this basis Toryism scored its 'victory'. But in the industrial field, where the deceptions of the two-party system do not operate, the battle of the working class has never risen higher since 1926 than during the past year. The demands for wage increases, reaching to eight millions, are at their highest extent. The teachers have been drawn into the struggle. Eight million tenants are affected by the offensive on rents, and their organisation and struggle has developed in a wide series of localities. The confidence of key sections of the industrial workers in tried and tested Communist leaders has been shown in a series of sharply contested elections both in important unions and in factories. The basis exists for a powerful united fight to defeat the economic and political offensive of Big Business and Toryism. But the success of that battle requires organisation, leadership and unity around a fighting policy.

Labour and Mr. Gaitskell

Where does the Labour Party stand in this battle? If the reply to this question were to be sought in the leadership of Mr. Gaitskell, it would be a dusty answer. The appointment of Mr. Gaitskell as Leader of the Labour Party at this critical moment is a stab in the back for the working class. This appointment is an integral part

of the right wing offensive, that is, in fact, of the capitalist offensive against the workers and against the left wing revolt in the labour and trade union movement. 'Mr. Gaitskell', acclaimed the approving Tory *Daily Mail*, 'may be called the Tory Socialist or even the Liberal Conservative'. 'The question is still', queried *The Times*, 'whether he is, personally and temperamentally, truly part of the movement'. 'One suspects', observed the Tory *Daily Telegraph*, 'that he would dearly love to release the Labour Party from the pledge embodied in its constitution to work for "the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange".' These are not Communist criticisms of Mr. Gaitskell. They are Tory certificates of approval from the most impeccable Tory quarters.

Mr. Gaitskell's Tactics

The tactics of Mr. Gaitskell as Leader to defeat the left revolt and infiltrate Tory policy into the Labour Party have already been sufficiently demonstrated. Under cover of a loudly proclaimed sentimental sympathy with the 'ideals' of 'social equality'—specifically not social ownership—he seeks to drown socialism and slip through orthodox Tory economics in practice. Under cover of a 'vigorous' verbal criticism of Tory leadership on secondary questions he seeks to slip through acceptance of Tory policy on every major issue. He denounced Mr. Butler with unsparing invective for his autumn budget—only to slip in the almost unperceived sentence that of course he accepted the necessity for a budget of this nature along these lines. Since becoming Leader he has dramatically demanded the recall of parliament in order to protest against the supply of certain obsolete arms junk to Egypt (a country at this moment resisting the wishes of the imperialists and promoting friendship with the Soviet Union), without so much as mentioning the supply of the most modern arms to Iraq, which has broken off relations with the Soviet Union and signed the Baghdad Pact, or suggesting so far any protest against the Baghdad Military Pact or the actual military operations against the peoples of Cyprus, Jordan, Malaya or Kenya. On all the essentials of Tory foreign policy, the hydrogen bomb, the resistance to reduction of armaments, the refusal of a European Security Treaty—silent acceptance of Tory policy. On the wage battle of eight million workers, or the rents battle of eight million tenants—silence. It is sufficiently clear that if the masses of the Labour Party are to carry forward their fight against the offensive of Big Business and Toryism, they will have to carry forward their fight, not through Mr. Gaitskell, but in spite of Mr. Gaitskell.

Who Leads?

How? It is crystal clear that the situation calls for the strongest united fight of the trade union and labour movement against the offensive of Big Business and Toryism, both for the defence of living standards, and to win the aims of peace. It is equally clear that the success of such a fight requires unity in action, organisation, leadership and a common strategy around a common alternative policy to Toryism. Where is such leadership of the active struggle or presentation of an alternative policy to Toryism to be found? Certainly not in the ranks of Mr. Gaitskell and his colleagues. Nor in the ranks of the General Council. Nor, despite occasional dramatic personal interludes, is there to be found a sign of a consistent alternative policy or leadership from those elements in the upper leading circles of the Labour Party who have occasionally expressed a measure of ambiguous dissent and then passed into hibernation.

The Fight of the Left

It is manifest that the impetus and initiative of the fight against the Tory offensive has to be developed from below, by the unity of the left, that is, by the main body of active trade unionists and Labour Party members in co-operation with the Communist Party. But such a common fight can only be effectively developed to the extent that it has a common voice and a common strategy. That is why the development of the unity of the left and of the effective fight of the working class is inevitably bound up with the role of the Communist Party and of the only militant newspaper of the left, the *Daily Worker*. It is the hard indisputable fact of the present political situation that the Communist Party is the only political party which presents a consistent alternative policy to Toryism, at the same time as organising the fight and participating in the fight in every field. Hence the combined task of developing the unity and co-operation of the left, and the strength of the Communist Party and of the *Daily Worker*, becomes the key to advance in the present situation of the Labour movement and in the present political situation in Britain, in order to defeat the offensive of reaction and begin to parallel in Britain the great advance of the progressive forces which is taking place throughout the world. This is the heart of the question of leadership and policy in Britain today.

January 18, 1956.

R.P.D.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER — 75

WE salute this month on his 75th birthday, the veteran leader of the working class of the United States, for the last 30 years the chairman of its Communist Party. Born in Taunton, Massachusetts, of a family of poor Irish immigrants, Foster had to start work when ten years old. An apprentice in a type foundry at 13, thereafter he worked in transport, merchant shipping, lumbering, building, agriculture and metal mining.

In his teens he became a Socialist, joining the Socialist Party in 1900. A pioneer in trade union organisation, he was Chicago secretary for some years of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen and sought to build a wider organisation of all railwaymen. Visits to Europe widened his experience of the trade union movement and brought him into contact with advanced theories. Armed with these he led the assault on two notorious fortresses of non-unionism, the meat packing plants of Chicago and the steelworks in Gary (Indiana), in Pittsburgh and elsewhere. Foster met with international recognition as an outstanding trade union leader when he triumphantly organised the meat packing plants in 1917 and led the first national steel strike in the U.S.A. in 1919. Foster earned the undying hatred not only of the bosses but of the chiefs of the American Federation of Labour who had him removed from his union positions. But he went on with his union work, founding the Trade Union Educational League in 1920 and the Trade Union Unity League in 1928. This work contributed in later years to building the unions of the Congress of Industrial Organisations. In 1921 he joined the Communist Party of the United States and was elected to its National Committee; and he stood as Communist Presidential candidate in 1924, 1928 and 1932.

The terrific labours undertaken by Foster in his work of agitation, propaganda and organisation took a heavy toll of his health and in 1932 he suffered a heart attack which incapacitated him. Undaunted he resumed activity after five years, but later suffered further attacks. Although compelled to stop platform work, Foster threw himself into the work of guiding and stimulating the struggle by his pen. Hence the series of books that he has written, including since this last war the histories of the Americas, of the Negro people, of the Communist Party of the United States and of the three Internationals. Today he is honoured for his fight, not only in the United States of America, but throughout the world.

EDITORIAL BOARD, LABOUR MONTHLY.

CYPRUS, GREECE AND N.A.T.O.

THEODORE DOGANIS

TODAY we see how the subjugated peoples fighting for their freedom tear to pieces the various war pacts of the imperialists.

This process of upsetting the military alliances of the imperialists takes place even in countries with small populations, when the people are led by strong Communist Parties. The struggle of the 420,000 Greek-Cypriots for self-determination is a very telling example. It has already brought the Balkan alliance to ruin and it has cracked the eastern wing of N.A.T.O., of which Greece and Turkey are the main struts.

How did this happen? In these last few years, when the Greek-Cypriots intensified their struggle for self-determination, their brothers in Greece came out wholeheartedly on their side. Although the Athens Government wished to remain aloof from the question of Cyprus, the Greek people compelled it to raise the matter twice (in 1954 and 1955) before the General Assembly of the United Nations. There and then, the entire Greek nation saw that whilst the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and the anti-colonial countries supported unreservedly Greece's appeal for self-determination for Cyprus, all her N.A.T.O. 'allies' (with the exception of Iceland) 'ganged up' with Britain in opposing it. This was an eye-opener for many right-wing Greeks. Indeed, as a result very large sections of the Right now saw for the first time, that the Communist Parties of Greece and Cyprus were right when for so many years they had warned the people that Anglo-American imperialists and N.A.T.O. would undermine Greece's independence, bring economic ruin upon her and attempt to strangle the Cypriots' fight for freedom.

Today, both in Greece and Cyprus, the overwhelming majority of the people are openly demanding that Greece should leave N.A.T.O. and follow a policy of national independence and neutrality. Such a slogan six months ago would have landed the 'culprit' before a court-martial on a charge of high treason! Today, not only the Left, but also political parties of the Centre and Right—the Populist Party, the Liberal Democratic Union of Mr. Venizelos, the Democratic Party, the Radical Party—publicly declare that, at the coming general election on February 19, they will put forward a policy of 'equal friendship' with all great powers. Indeed, it is around the question as to whether Greece should leave N.A.T.O. or not that the next general election will be fought. When,

on December 18, 1955, a huge demonstration in support of Enosis (Union of Cyprus with Greece) took place in Athens, some of the main slogans were: 'Let us get out of N.A.T.O.', 'Let us build the Belgrade-Athens-Cairo Axis'.

As far back as September 21, 1955, the *Daily Mail* correspondent, Mr. Noel Barber, wrote that 'in Greece, one of our staunchest allies, there is definite and serious opinion towards withdrawing from N.A.T.O. In Athens I found a well-considered belief that the eastern wall of N.A.T.O. has cracked beyond repair'. When the Turkish Government, vehemently opposed to the Union of Cyprus with Greece, organised the pogrom against the Greek minority in Constantinople and Smyrna on September 6, 1955, the *Economist* acknowledged that 'the Balkan alliance has been critically damaged'. And the *Observer* of October 30 lamented: 'Cyprus has been a deadly catalyst' . . . 'Greece is estranged from her closest allies, Britain and the United States, and Greco-Turkish friendship . . . lies in ruins'.

There are three main reasons why the British Government refuses to grant self-determination to the Cypriots: (a) no British Conservative Government has ever conceded this right to any British colony; (b) British and other foreign capitalists are making fat profits out of the colonial exploitation of Cyprus. (In 1952 for instance foreign mine-owners exported nearly £10,400,000 worth of minerals and made £5,000,000 net profit: but they paid less than £1,350,000 in wages and salaries to Cypriot workers); (c) Cyprus is being used as a military base for the 'support of the Baghdad pact and the rule of law and order in the Middle East'—as the Conservative M.P., Mr. Hugh Fraser, put it in the House of Commons on December 5, 1955. The same Mr. Fraser said also that Cyprus is a sort of 'fire brigade base'. He did not elaborate this point, but its meaning is quite clear. Now that British imperialism has lost Suez, it plans to use Cyprus as a base for an attack on the Soviet Union. From Cyprus it can also threaten or actually attack any nation in the Middle East, still under British domination, which may try to free itself. It is only a few months since British planes took off from Cyprus to bomb Arab tribes in the Aden area which had revolted against British rule. Last but not least, on January 11, two thousand British paratroopers were despatched to Cyprus to be used 'if the need arises' against the people of Jordan, and to protect 'the great British capital resources in the Middle East, in particular in the oil industry' (*The Times*, January 11, 1956).

Determined not to give up Cyprus, the British offer the Cypriots plenty of 'solutions', all of them aiming at perpetuating imperialist rule: a colonial constitution, self-government, transfer of Cyprus to N.A.T.O., British-Greek condominium, joint British-Greek-Turkish military occupation of Cyprus, British-Greek citizenship for all Cypriots, even a brand new Cypriot flag, a sort of colour cocktail which would include the Union Jack, the Greek flag and the Turkish Crescent! All these and many more 'solutions' have been thought out by the warped minds of British imperialists. But the solution demanded by the Cypriot people, namely *immediate and unconditional self-determination*, without British bases, the Government in London refuses even to discuss.

Meanwhile, whilst British terror grows in Cyprus, efforts are being constantly made in order to enforce upon the people one or the other of the above pseudo-solutions. Already by November 21, 1955, the British Governor in Cyprus is reported to have reached a secret agreement with the leader of the Cypriot Right, Archbishop Makarios—an agreement fully supported by the Athens Government, which is ready to go to any lengths to reach a 'settlement' about Cyprus in the hope of putting a stop to the wave of anti-western feeling sweeping over Greece. This agreement provided for the immediate imposition of a colonial constitution in Cyprus. The right of self-determination would be granted 'at an unspecified date to be decided upon by the prevailing security conditions'.

Within a few hours of the British press disclosures of the main points of the agreement on December 6, 1955, the people of Nicosia came out in a heroic demonstration, led by AKEL (the Communist Party of Cyprus). Braving British tanks, the tear-gas bombs, and the machine-guns of the British Commandos, they rushed in their thousands towards the Archbishop's palace. They invaded it, shouting: 'Don't sell out'. . . . 'No colonial constitution!' . . . 'Self-determination NOW'. The British troops attacked the people. There were serious clashes. Dozens were wounded, and many arrested. But the anger of the people was such that Makarios had to abandon his 'agreement'. Next day he issued a statement denying that he had accepted the British proposals. However, the *Daily Mail* correspondent in Nicosia made it clear on December 12 that it was 'the strong pressure by the Communist Party of Cyprus that had wrecked all prospects of an early settlement of the Cypriot question between Governor Harding and Archbishop Makarios'.

It was because the AKEL Party was leading the people in their struggle for freedom and against all the compromise agreements

which the British and Archbishop Makarios were preparing to conclude, that Governor Harding suppressed on December 14 the Communist Party, and its press, and put its leaders in a concentration camp. The next day *The Times* wrote:

The reasons which prompted the Governor to proscribe AKEL are that it has become obvious that the party is doing its utmost to prevent the possibility of an agreement being negotiated between Britain and Greece on the future of Cyprus. It has constantly denounced Archbishop Makarios for reports that he was about to come to an agreement with Britain, and has demanded that he should refuse to negotiate on any basis other than that of immediate self-determination on terms which would exclude the use of Cyprus as a military base.

Governor Harding obviously believes that, having banned AKEL and having arrested its leaders, he has removed the main obstacle to a compromise 'solution' with the Archbishop (which would in fact put off self-determination for Cyprus to the Greek calends!). He will soon discover that, even though banned, AKEL is continuing to lead the united struggle of the people for national liberation and against any sell-out however attractively presented. The people of Cyprus and Greece entered the New Year determined, once and for all, to smash their chains—British colonial chains in Cyprus, American and N.A.T.O. chains in Greece.

LIGHT ON ISRAELI POLICY

S. MIKUNIS

SINCE the rulers of Israel transferred our country from dependence on Britain to dependence upon the United States we have suffered more than a few disappointments. Instead of paving a way for ourselves based on our true national interests, by planning a balanced economy (which would, amongst other things, allow for absorbing immigration), we have been held by the ruling circles in the orbit of the United States. In foreign policy, we have endangered our national security by subservience to the aggressive imperialist aims of the United States in the Middle East.

The main danger to our security, the main political and economic difficulties and the baffling 'paradoxes' in Israeli policy stem from Israel's dependence upon U.S.A. People who know that Israel is in the Middle East, in a region of tens of millions

of Arabs, are astonished and upset by the national policy of oppression against the Arab population. People who know that only a few years ago Israel had the sympathy of the U.S.S.R. and other progressive forces in the world, do not understand its slanders against the Soviet Union and its opposition to the independence struggles of the oppressed peoples in Asia and North Africa, let alone the peoples of the Middle East. The rulers of our country try to lull the people with the tale of the 'rescuing' Dollar. But as the contradiction between the needs and the security of Israel and the aggressive imperialist policy of the United States and Britain becomes more and more obvious, as the 'danger' of popular disillusionment is appearing, all the heavy armour of lies and deceit is thrown into action, with the banner of the American dollar leading the march.

Israeli policy has entered a blind, a very blind alley. The stamp of 'Made in U.S.A.' on its policy is now more recognisable than ever before. Ben-Gurion and Sharett are prepared to follow Pakistan and Iraq into the 'Northern tier' alliance while aiming also at a separate military pact between Israel and the United States.

A military pact means full-scale handing over of Israel to the mercy of the American imperialists, the transformation of Israel into an American military base, and thus into a vulnerable military objective. It means American control over the Israeli Army, forcing it to take part in wars initiated by the United States military chiefs, stationing of foreign military forces on our soil and endangering our national sovereignty. A military pact with the U.S.A. means the integration of Israel in the system of war forces wherein the central position is allocated to the pupils and heirs of Hitler in Western Germany.

The starting point for all Israeli policy is this striving for a military pact with the United States—or any other form of inclusion in an aggressive anti-Soviet bloc. From this comes its economic difficulties and its entirely unnecessary isolation. On the one hand there is the mighty world camp of peace and socialism, as well as a large number of countries—capitalist, former colonial and semi-colonial—which have turned to the path of neutrality, and who oppose the Israeli policy of assisting the aggressive plans of Washington. On the other hand, Israel receives only contempt and neglect from the very same Washington—an attitude characteristic of every imperialist régime towards its satellites. Recently Ben-

Gurion himself was forced to express his 'fear' of the United States supporting the Eden plan for cutting the Negev off from Israel (interview with a *New York Times* correspondent, November 27, 1955) but he did not dare to disclose that the Dulles plan closely resembles the Eden plan. The anti-Soviet and anti-Communist campaign waged by the rulers of Israel and by their Zionist spokesmen abroad diverts attention from their direct responsibility for the grave situation of Israel and is an attempt to revive the Cold War.

Nowadays, the basic test for any government is the approach to the problem of peace and war. People all over the world wish to preserve peace, to prevent war. The ever-growing influence of the policy of the Soviet Union is because it is consistently directed towards ensuring peace and the independence of the peoples: a policy as vitally important to Israel as to any other country.

Each step of the Soviet Union and other countries in the camp of peace and socialism is directed towards the cause of peace. Whilst the aggressive British and American policy in our region sows mistrust and disunity amongst the nations, Soviet policy supports the people's struggle for peace and national independence and encourages them in their opposition to colonial subjection and to the conclusion of aggressive pacts. In contrast, Ben-Gurion's attack in the Knesset during the tour of India, Burma and Afghanistan by Khrushchov and Bulganin, on both Britain *and* the Soviet Union, attributing to them a policy 'apt to bring about the destruction of Israel', can only mislead the people as to the real facts of the situation.

What is the truth? The truth is that a new and encouraging situation has been created in the Middle East, through the opposition of Egypt and Syria to the aggressive Baghdad pact. They are entering into friendly relations with the Soviet Union, People's China and the other socialist countries, and are resisting political, economic and military pressure on the part of the American and British imperialists—an important contribution towards the cause of world peace, a precious factor also for fostering the cause of peace between Israel and the Arab states. Repeated declarations of the Egyptian Premier and his fellow-statesmen stress that they have no intention of fighting against Israel and that they are ready to make peace with Israel on the basis of the United Nations' decisions on Palestine. Whether or not the Israeli Government agrees to this, or proposes an alternative basis for peace negotia-

tions with Egypt, it has no right to conceal from the people the important change in the policy of Egypt and the other Arab states in respect of Israel. This is the first time Egypt has openly recognised the existence of Israel, and we should by no means underestimate this fact. In a region where for tens of years the imperialists have been stirring up the people against each other on the notorious 'divide and rule' principle, a great deal will depend on the policy of Israel as to whether the day of peace between us and our neighbours is near or far away. Czechoslovakia would not have agreed to supply even so small a quantity of arms unless she were certain that this would help to strengthen Egyptian neutrality and desire for peace. These armaments contain defence weapons and not arms for aggression; they are designed to help Egypt to withstand the military pressure on the part of the imperialists, who are trying—so far unsuccessfully—to force Egypt to join the Baghdad anti-Soviet pact. Czechoslovakia, as well as any other socialist state, has not taken, nor will it take, any step contrary to their consistent policy of peace.

One of the surest guarantees for the Czech weapons in the possession of Egypt not being used against Israel would be the abstention on the part of the Israeli Government of military operations across the borders; the discontinuing of the propaganda and preparation for a preventive war; the refusal of the Government of Israel to serve as an instrument of Dulles and Eden for exerting pressure on Egypt to come into their anti-Soviet plans. Neither Soviet policy nor the Czech weapons, but Israel's subservience to the foreign, hostile interests of the U.S. rulers in the international arena and in the Middle East carries with it the real danger for Israel. The strongest hopes and the true interests of our people and country, lie with the Soviet Union and the entire mighty camp of the socialist countries, acting in unity, for peace all over the world, for the defence of the independence of the peoples and their bright future.

The servants of Dulles in the Israeli Government imagine that by fostering an anti-Soviet and anti-Communist hysteria, they will succeed in concealing from the people all that is going on in the world and around us in the Middle East. These rulers may harden their ears against the truth, but the fact is that the common man in Israel is more and more loudly asking a number of questions, namely: (a) Why do the chiefs of Israel and the founders of the Nazi Wehrmacht of Western Germany meet together? (b) if her

Arab neighbours follow the path of neutrality like India and Burma, is this not in the interest of Israel? (c) how could Ben-Gurion not notice the first session of the aggressive Baghdad pact under the baton of the enemies of peace, from London and Washington (which is generally considered to be not only an anti-Soviet but also an anti-Israel pact too)? Is not this silence about the matter which is endangering the safety of the entire zone as well as that of Israel very similar to the silence on the part of the Israel Government about the rushing of Western heavy arms to Iraq and other countries in this part of the world? And do not both these facts result from the political conception of Israel's rulers that all that is being done by Washington and London against the Soviet Union (even if this threatens the safety of Israel) is proper and 'kosher' in the eyes of these 'patriots'?

These and similar questions which unmask the pro-imperialist policy of the Israeli Government stimulate a series of demands. These demands are: to stop shutting our eyes to the political reality of the world and the Middle East; to cease our dependence on the imperialist policy of the United States; to put an end to forming the policy of Israel in Washington; no longer to run after a military pact with U.S.A.; to abandon the mad idea of a preventive war against Egypt and other neighbouring states, which could only serve the interests of the British and American imperialists; to develop initiative towards negotiation with Arab countries, without imperialist mediation, with no preliminary conditions, for solving the outstanding questions (such as the question of the Arab refugees) by amicable and mutual agreement; to enter upon the road to peace and national independence.

In contrast to the ruling circles who bow down before the American Dollar that enslaves and pauperises, our Communist Party sets before our people the goal of Peace, of Israel's independence and safety, of Jewish-Arab friendship, of the defence of the interests of the working people. Our policy is based on the sound and solid foundation of Israeli patriotism and proletarian internationalism. We struggle for unity of action of the labouring masses and a wide patriotic anti-imperialist front directed towards a fundamental change of the policy of Israel, towards a policy of peace and independence from imperialism, of lasting friendship with the Soviet Union and all peoples striving for peace and freedom. This is the best guarantee for the safety of Israel, for the independence of our country and its economic development, for the freedom of our people and its happy future.

YOUTH UNDER THE MICROSCOPE

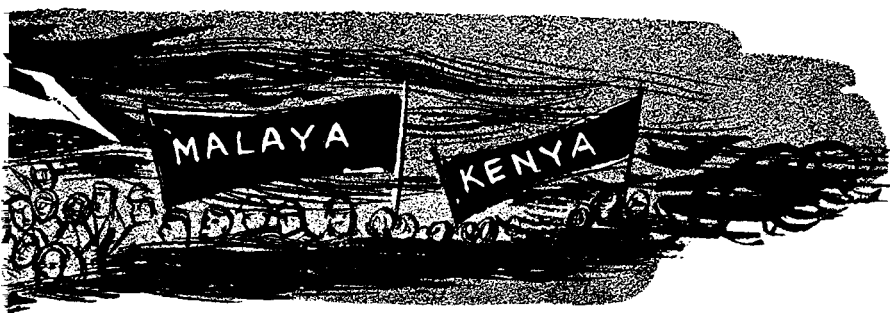
PETER ALLEN

YOUTH has become increasingly a subject of research and discussion by various groups, committees, working parties, individuals and newspapers. It has been analysed, dissected and found wanting. From the missionary and patronising attitude of most of these reports it is obvious that the title of 'youth' is given mainly to young workers, a great many of whom are regarded as potential criminals. None of these studies deal with the state of mind, the aberrations and anti-social activity of the 'bright young things' of the rich and so-called 'society', which often enough have made headlines in newspapers. The most important of these studies recently issued is *Citizens of Tomorrow*, published by King George's Jubilee Trust, which has received the support of the Government and the blessings of big employers. While the report does include in its recommendations some useful positive measures, which will be generally agreed, such as reduction in the size of classes, provision of playing fields and swimming pools or establishment of county colleges, the general attitude displayed is revealing.

After years of neglect, we are entitled to ask what has aroused such a widespread social interest in youth? Apart from the political reason (the competition between the Tory Party and the Labour Party to win the half million young people, who each year become new voters) there are economic and military reasons. The neglect of youth, especially with regard to education and training, has come home to roost in our 'Free Enterprise' society. There is a shortage of better educated and trained young workers suitable for the various modern processes, for the coming of automation and atomic energy; there is a shortage of technical workers, and of young workers in general. Then, says this report, there is the competition for young workers, and snapping up by 'unscrupulous' employers of school-leavers for well paid blind-alley jobs; while it has even become difficult to keep the Empire going under modern conditions for want of young technical workers, and because of the low standard of servicemen.

The recommendations made in *Citizens of Tomorrow* and similar reports are all intended to meet the requirements of the employers





OH insolence of strength! Oh boast of wisdom!
Oh poverty in all things truly wise!
Thinkest thou, England, God can be outwitted
For ever thus by him who sells and buys?

Thou sellest the sad nations to their ruin.
What hast thou bought? The child within the womb,
The son of him thou slayest to thy hurting,
Shall answer thee, 'An Empire for thy tomb'.

Thou hast deserved men's hatred. They shall hate thee.
Thou hast deserved men's fear. Their fear shall kill.
Thou hast thy foot upon the weak. The weakest
With his bruised head shall strike thee on the heel.

The Empire thou didst build shall be divided.
Thou shalt be weighed in thine own balances
Of usury to peoples and to princes,
And be found wanting by the world and these.

Thy Empire shall be parted, and thy kingdom.
At thy own doors a kingdom shall arise,
Where freedom shall be preached and the wrong righted
Which thy unwisdom wrought in days unwise.

Truth yet shall triumph in a world of justice.
This is of faith. I swear it. East and west
The law of Man's progression shall accomplish
Even this last great marvel with the rest.

Thou wouldst not further it. Thou canst not hinder.
If thou shall learn in time, thou yet shalt live.
But God shall ease thy hand of its dominion,
And give to these the rights thou wouldst not give.

From: The Wind and the Whirlwind (1883)
by WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT

and the Armed Forces, with a definite emphasis on the Armed Forces. To meet the complaints of the employers that the young workers of today are work-shy, apathetic, cheeky and irresponsible, it is demanded that a positive attitude to work should be inculcated by parents, schools, churches and youth organisations. As the parents are often themselves judged to be work-shy and apathetic, the conclusion is reached that the main responsibility for such a positive attitude to work must rest with the schools. The schools should teach something of employment and the working conditions in various industries. More informed liaison between the schools and industry is suggested, and the introduction of an external leaving examination to make it easier for the employers to verify educational standards of the young workers. An indirect direction of work through schools and Youth Employment Service is considered necessary. On the other hand, the employers are advised to do their part by providing more training and welfare schemes, although it is admitted that the majority of the enterprises are small and will have difficulties in doing so. The employers should also protect young people 'from the risk of infection by adult influences such as gambling, swearing, pilfering, loafing, and even active subversion'. As there had been some criticism levelled against the employers, the report states that:

In fairness to employers, who provide work for more than 20 million out of a total population of 50 million, there appeared to be some startling misconceptions by sections of the community as to the purpose, organisation and working of an industrial system which has not only produced the high standard of living today, but, according to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, could be geared to provide a considerably higher standard for the future.

The report is appalled at the attitude of parents to National Service; they are found to be indifferent, resentful and even hostile. The servicemen share this attitude and consider National Service as 'a regrettable and boring interruption of the main business of life'. This attitude has led young people to accept the most highly paid temporary jobs before they enter National Service and to adopt an outlook of 'eat, drink and be merry'. The Services complain that the young servicemen are ignorant, many of them illiterate, or semi-literate, apathetic, lacking in self-confidence and initiative and have a poor sense of responsibility. To foster a positive attitude to National Service is the task of parents, teachers, employers and adult work-mates. The general public should be educated as to the real purpose and value of National Service. Employers are

advised to conduct suitable courses of preparation for National Service.

The findings of the various studies and discussions are revealing enough and often appalling, and are an unconscious indictment of existing society. But the reasons and causes advanced are spurious. Social conditions like housing are rarely mentioned. But the existence of social insurance or the Welfare State comes in for a good deal of attack as responsible for the adverse features of present-day youth. *Citizens of Tomorrow* tells us that the primary cause of defect in young people is the irresponsibility of parents; and, apart from the lack of religion, the main cause of parental irresponsibility is found to be the Welfare State with its school facilities, family allowance, health services, etc., which 'have tended to impair the individual's independent effort and use of his power of choice'. Since the advent of the Welfare State the 'something for nothing philosophy of life has become more prevalent'. A further cause of parental irresponsibility is found to be their 'materialism', that is, their desire to earn more money by doing overtime and mother going out to work. Mother especially gets castigated for doing so, or at least failing to make personal arrangements for somebody to look after the children. No mention is made of the lack of day nurseries or of other facilities for working mothers. The trouble arises also, says the report, when the parents wish their children to enjoy more privileges and greater opportunities than they themselves have had. 'Their children must be like other children'. The conclusion is reached that the road back to parental responsibility can only be 'the road back to Christian principles'. Further studies are proposed to discover 'what can be done within the present law towards the integration of religion with the life at home, at school and at work'.

The impression one gets from all these various reports on youth is that 'the failings of youth' are mainly 'psychological' or 'spiritual', which can easily be put right by exercise of parental discipline and supervision, by religious preaching and teaching, by the missionary spirit of a few youth leaders and welfare workers, by a few social experiments in industry and some better educational and training facilities. The true heart of the problem is ignored in all these superior 'philanthropic' reports. For the cause of the hurt done to present-day young people lies deep in the whole of our social structure. The post-war development of capitalism in Britain, with its destructive social consequences, and the failure of the labour movement to fight against it, could not fail to have an impact on youth.

Whatever is wrong with the youth of today is therefore not only an indictment against our 'Free Enterprise' society, but also against the labour movement, which has left the youth as a prey for private enterprise both in work and in leisure. The labour movement has done little to fight for the needs of youth or to counteract the insidious influence of capitalist ideology to which the youth has been subjected through the various so-called mass media (including the *Daily Herald*). Even the 'American Idea' has been skilfully put over, and is not only expressed in clothes, haircuts, bragging, toughness, etc., but in the whole attitude to life, in the desire for 'getting on', for making easy money, and in the cult of conformity and being non-political.

There is a widespread complaint in the labour movement that the young workers are 'apathetic' and non-political and are not even interested in the trade unions. The favourite complaint of the Labour Party leaders is that our apathetic youth does not show gratitude for the achievements of the Labour government by flocking to support the Labour Party during the elections. The assumption is that the young people have no grievances left and have therefore no quarrel with the existing society and no desire to change or to improve it. If there is 'apathy' among young people it is the reflection of 'apathy' and bewilderment in the working class movement, and of the weakening of the fight for socialism since the failure of the Labour Government to introduce socialism.

It will not be easy to win over present-day youth to be active in the working class movement. They must be helped to believe in progress, in socialism, to believe in the importance of their own participation in the struggle for socialism and to believe that they can do better than the older generation. It can be done, because, in spite of all the harm done to young people, the spirit of youth cannot be killed. Nor can the creative qualities of youth be killed, such as their desire to do something worthwhile, their desire to develop their personality, their desire for adventure, for heroic and courageous deeds. Our present capitalist society cannot satisfy this desire of youth, except through distorted forms in destructive wars, in exploitation of colonial countries, or in some national emergencies or in the make-believe world of films and other entertainments. But the fight for socialism, for peace, no less than for all the living needs of the people, today demands much bravery, ingenuity, devotion and independent thinking and could satisfy this desire, could cope with everyday frustrations and make sense of life.

WESTERN VALUES, II

SANCHO PANZA

EUROPEAN CIVILISATION

The old idea, like a once cherished wife who has lost the attractions of her youth, is hard put to maintain the legitimacy of its position.

—Louis J. Halle, Member of the Policy Planning Staff in the American Department of State.

‘**W**ESTERN civilisation’ used to be called ‘European civilisation’, but ‘when a fundamental disharmony at first masked by admiration for Russian valour had begun to reveal itself “Western civilisation” became a more suitable phrase’ (*The Times*). Apart from that, ‘European civilisation’ might have excluded America in spite of Mr. Dulles’ assurance that America has become a Western European Government ‘in fact the most powerful Western European government, as with the United Kingdom it governed the Ruhr area which was the economic heart of Europe’. But long cherished conceptions die hard. The ‘European civilisation’ or the ‘European Idea’ is still a favourite with the European élite and with quite a number of the British élite. As they have seen ‘American civilisation’ at work in Europe, they reject America as part of ‘European civilisation’ and insist that America has its own ‘American civilisation’, its own American ‘values’.

The definition of the modern ‘European civilisation’ has always given a headache to all the learned who have occupied themselves with this particular subject. As they tend to leave out capitalism as the common feature of Western Europe, and like to deal with traditions and cultural and spiritual values, they are hard put to find common features among the many different traditions and cultural standards of Europe. Nevertheless, the élite has been digging hard for the specific Western European soul. But the values they have unearthed as specific Western European values have proved to be on examination simply universal values. By hook or by crook something had to be found as cement for the anti-communist unity of Western Europe, so essential for the political, economic and military programme of the Free World. The most reliable cement was found in Christianity:

Europe’s retort to Communism must be a return not to classical humanism, but to the Christian conception of human nature in which faith, reason and instinct each have their place and are duly honoured.

(*The Times*.)

Mr. Butler, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking recently to a gathering of rectors and vice-chancellors of European universities, expressed his hope that 'while retaining the advantages won in the modern age of reason' we might 'recapture our faith in the common civilisation of Europe' such as had existed in the Middle Ages when 'Western Europe had a single Church, European scholars had a single language'.

Mr. Butler's hope is ardently shared by the Catholic Church in Europe which never has abandoned the hope of returning to past glories and to the leadership of Europe. The Catholic Church after the Second World War stepped in as the saviour of Europe from Communism with its social and economic doctrine. The principle of Christian democracy was to have united Europe in common faith, protect the interests of all classes, take the edge off the class struggle and thus save the Western European soul. It hasn't somehow worked that way. Instead of the Catholic Church becoming the leader, the various European Christian Democratic parties became merely the tools of capitalist interests. The Catholic ideas and ideals have become merely 'intangible entities'. Defeated, the Catholic Church began to shift the emphasis from social and economic principles to purely spiritual values. Even the worker priests were frowned upon. Recently, however, the Catholic Church in Italy seems to have entered into a new mood of friendly competition with the Communist Party to win over the workers. Nothing like trying out new ideas.

There is no doubt that in the battle of the Western Civilisations the European civilisation is rapidly giving way to the American civilisation which has been trying hard to penetrate every cranny of the European soul.

SPECIFIC BRITISH WESTERN VALUES

Religion is by no means a proper subject
of conversation in a mixed company.

—Lord Chesterfield.

In Britain as elsewhere the élite is mainly concerned with the trimmings or 'hidden values' of Western civilisation, and as elsewhere Christianity has become the modern source of values. The British contribution to the Western stock of new ideas and ideals and to the uplifting of morale in all the N.A.T.O. countries has been somewhat scanty because Britain has also the Commonwealth to think about. Specific British Western values are badly needed to keep the Commonwealth together and are supposed to be

in great demand there, especially in the colonies. The élite has been busy valuing, revaluing, re-examining, revitalising and re-dressing values and sorting out values for home consumption and for export. The revitalised and re-dressed values are also needed to reassure the élite themselves and to keep up the morale of the leading men and the people in Britain, and are considered a sufficient antidote to Communism if accompanied with vigorous denunciation of Communism.

The B.B.C. has worked hard to bring the Western values to the people and to bolster up our morale. Recently we were presented with a set of basic values or 'foundations of Western values' which we 'have inherited', which are 'part and parcel of our British way of life' and which 'most of us, when we go to a country like Africa, take with us, so to speak, in our kit-bags' (Dr. James Welch). Kenya, for instance. After considering various values, starting from religion and democracy to the appreciation of beauty and good manners, the following five basic values of 'our way of life' were agreed upon: value of the individual, passion for truth, sense of responsibility, integrity and impartial justice. These values seemed to me to be ordinary abstract universal values and not worth special notice, but Dr. Welch, who introduced the talks, assured us that 'in the past we have assumed that other people should live by them too. And it is something of a shock to realise that they are not'. Judging from the talks I got the impression that these values are not quite yet in our kit-bags, but are ideals to strive for and, I suspect, mostly by the common man. For instance, Sir John Maude, who spoke about integrity, was very much concerned about the integrity of the working man to do his job well, or of the trade union leader not to go back on his word. He ended his talk with the following wisdom:

The man of integrity refuses to surrender his sovereign judgment to any man or any organisation of men. He accepts the obligations of citizenship, and perhaps of party, trade union, or profession; but he reserves to himself the right and duty to overrule, in the last resort, any of those claims upon his loyalty. That is why he can call himself 'free'.

This reminds me of the urchin, who answered 'this is a free country' when rebuked for breaking bottles in the street.

Gilbert Murray's talk on 'passion for truth' was aimed at other peoples, particularly the colonial peoples. 'England has always prided itself on its care for truth', but 'in countries torn by class or political factions there is always the Reign of the Lie'.

The free nations of Europe have, on the whole, more care for integrity and justice than the non-European nations or tribes over which they have

until lately exercised authority. When the influence of a really civilised power is thrown off the first danger is a general lapse from truth.

Mr. Murray admitted that 'war and lies go together', but this seems to be the privilege of Western European nations.

The 'Value of the Individual', as one of 'our most cherished beliefs', was rather a tricky subject to talk about. We were warned at the outset by Dr. Welch that 'we have not been wholly faithful in Britain to this belief'. In my innocence I took this to mean, that we have been rather wasteful of the human person, what with wars, unemployment, inadequate education, housing, etc., and have heaped indignities upon man. But this was not what Dr. Welch meant. He meant the dangers of 'our planned society' to people who do not want their ideas etc. planned. He was not aware that he himself was doing a bit of planning ideas for us. The ungrateful task of elaborating on the subject fell to the Principal of the University College of Wales. He had to call on European history as testimony to 'our belief in the value of human beings', but of the present he had this to say:

If you stand in a London underground station during the rush hours you are surprised at the number, not of the living, but of the dead.

But 'our sense of value of the human person' is, nevertheless, there: 'it is at work in that idea of fairness in our dealings with one another which to other nations has seemed such a peculiar feature of life in these islands'.

All these talks on the positive and specific British values were duly accompanied with little digs at Communism.

EXPORT TRADE IN WESTERN VALUES

The customer who entered the free market of ideas would find a wealth of diverse notions and beliefs among which he might choose.—Louis J. Halle.

Britain has been at this game longer than any other of the modern Western Powers. The 'kit-bag' which our boys have carried with them while roaming all over the world contained values not only for personal consumption but for sale. The beads and to a certain extent the bible have been gradually replaced by somewhat different commodities. Of the British values, as of the material goods, some are exportable and some are not, and some are made for export only. For instance, Britain is supposed to produce two kinds of Christianity—the kind that exports and the kind that does not. The Christianity that does not export, is that which has been woven into the very texture of our Western civilisation and culture

and cannot be separated from it' (Dr. James Welch). British export trade in Western values, as in other commodities, though still brisk, has considerably declined in modern times. Britain has been too slow and ponderous to adapt itself to modern conditions and requirements. America is all out 'to reform the world with our own vision' and has become a formidable competitor. But never say die. 'There is another sense in which the accumulated wealth of Western civilisation can be drawn upon. It is the kind of wealth our country possesses in abundance; it constitutes, as it were, a "hard currency" of wise counsel and tolerance more than ever in demand today', writes Mr. MacMillan, when Foreign secretary. But, alas, these values are not dollar exports. As the centre of gravity of Western civilisation has moved to America, Britain is hard put to compete with the 'American Idea'.

Judging from the lamentations of the American men of light and leading one gets the impression that America is short of ideas and ideals and is pining for them. This is not so. America is overflowing with values and there is a serious surplus left for export. The export of some values, like American democracy, has been so lavish that there isn't much left for home consumption. The production of ideas and ideals is a specialised industry in America, like any other industry, but the ideas which the specialists in ideas produce may be a little too crude for the taste of some of the élite, or the élite is after newer and newer ideas as everything in America gets quickly outdated. I wouldn't know. But the fact is that the American people cannot keep pace with the new ideas and ideals. Recently a Defence Department Committee complained that American servicemen, for instance, have not absorbed the 'American ideals' and that they cannot 'answer arguments in favour of Communism, by arguments in favour of Americanism'. This is as it may be, but the export trade in American Western values is flourishing ever since the first world war, when the most enlightened trade union and Labour Party leaders became the best market for American ideas and ideals.

Since then 'the American Idea' has found a profitable market in practically all the 'free' countries. 'In recent years, American culture has spread over the globe through an increasing number of channels. Servicemen have established beachheads for Coca-Cola, American dancing, cigarettes and slang, etc.,' writes a correspondent in the *Economist*. The export trade in religious values has been well represented by Aimée Macpherson and Billy

Graham. And I particularly like the 'stimulation of the spirit of freedom' (Dulles) by the exhortation on books of matches to 'Feel Free'. The 'cultural war' with the Soviet Union and the 'pleasing combination of culture and profit' (*Economist*) has greatly stimulated the export trade in human dignity and culture.

The export trade in Western ideas and ideals is a one-way traffic. Surely such a one-way traffic in modern times is undesirable. But a multilateral traffic might upset the whole applecart of 'Western civilisation'.

The path of the Western élite in their search for creative ideas and lofty ideals has been made rather thorny by the realities of the 'Age of the Common Man'. But perhaps what was valuable in Western or European civilisation may not have vanished into thin air. May it not be that these values have left the Western élite behind and have found a new home where they can give birth to new ideas and new ideals?

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

COLONIAL REVOLT

The revolt of the colonial populations against imperialist exploitation has manifested itself in the different colonial systems. Britain's colonial Empire is being shaken to its foundations by the tremendous mass movement for national independence among the workers and peasants of India, by the steadily developing agrarian revolt in China, by the Burmese independence movement, by the Arab revolt in Palestine, by the insistent demand of Egypt for freedom, accompanied by her rejection of the Treaty of Military Alliance offered to her by Britain, and by the reaction against racial inequality and slave conditions which is being shown with more determination than ever before by the Negro peoples.

In the French colonies there is insurrection also. France has not been able to stifle the discontent of the Syrian Arabs, while in Northern Annam the French authorities have been compelled to repress the native risings by a regular military occupation accompanied by armoured cars and bombing aeroplanes. Many of the Annamite leaders have been executed. During the last 30 years the trade of the French colonial possessions had been multiplied nearly five times, but this year that lucrative trade has suffered a setback in consequence of the crisis in the colonies.

Japan, always uneasy because of the efforts of the Korean people to throw off the colonial yoke, has this year been additionally embarrassed by the necessity of quelling a formidable anti-imperialist outbreak in Formosa. There has also been in Japan itself a growing agitation among the Japanese workers against worsening conditions.

From *The Fight Against Imperialism*, by Reginald Bridgeman, February, 1931.

THE MANTLE OF McCARTHY

CHRISTOPHER MEREDITH

THESE books* report, in very different ways, two enquiries into American public opinion on communism and the fight against communism, which took place within a few months of each other in the spring of 1954. Leroy Gore is the small-town newspaper publisher-editor who initiated and directed the Wisconsin campaign to force Senator McCarthy to seek re-election before his 6-year term ends in 1958, by obtaining signatures to a recall petition in numbers equal to 25 per cent. of the total vote for Governor in the previous State election. The signatures (more than 400,000) were obtained, but only 335,000 within the 60 day period required by law; the campaign failed in its immediate purpose, but it pricked McCarthy's reputation as a vote-gatherer and thus paved the way for his censure by the U.S. Senate in December.

Stouffer, as Director of the Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University, prepared, and analysed the results of a questionnaire answered by nearly 6,500 Americans who can fairly be claimed to form an extremely representative sample. It was, perhaps, the most elaborate public opinion poll ever carried out, in which 537 trained interviewers from two rival research organisations spent nearly three months in obtaining answers to about 150 questions. It was financed by the Ford Foundation's 'Fund for the Republic' (which itself has been under heavy fire from Congressional committees), and the author describes its purpose as examining . . . 'the reactions of Americans to two dangers':

One, from the Communist conspiracy outside and inside the country; two, from those who in thwarting the conspiracy would sacrifice some of the very liberties which the enemy would destroy.

The standpoint of the book is one that has been dominant in American liberalism of the past few years: concern for individual liberties, but only within a rigid framework of ideas which sees it as axiomatic (1) that the prime danger at home and abroad is communism; (2) that this is to be equated with a conspiracy of sabotage, espionage and subversion (see below); and (3) that McCarthyism involves an excess of zeal rather than an error of direction.

Having said this, it should also be emphasized that the investigation appears to have been carried out with painstaking accuracy,

**Joe Must Go*, by Leroy Gore; Julian Messner, 1954.

Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties, by Samuel A. Stouffer; Doubleday, 1955.

that the selection of the individuals questioned and the arrangement of the questions practically ruled out the introduction of bias by the interviewers, and that the analysis and presentation of the results are extremely clear. In addition to the general sample of nearly 5,000, a special sample of 14 'community leaders' from each of more than 100 'cities' (population 10,000 to 150,000) was questioned; they are of special interest because of the consistently higher proportion of 'tolerant' answers than in the general sample.

Stouffer has constructed two 'scales' of opinion which allow of more reliable comparisons between different sections of the community than would the replies to any particular question taken by itself. Thus his 'scale of tolerance' is based on answers to 15 questions, concerning treatment of 'nonconformists' such as admitted communists, atheists, socialists and people whose loyalty is questioned by a Congressional committee but who swear under oath they have never been communists. The second scale concerns 'perception of the internal Communist danger'. For convenience of analysis the persons answering the questionnaire are in this way divided into: 'relatively more tolerant', 'in-between' and 'relatively less tolerant'; and into: 'see relatively great internal Communist threat', 'in-between' and 'see relatively little internal Communist threat'. On each scale, about half the replies are 'in-between', with less than one-third in the first category and less than one-fifth in the last.

The general atmosphere of intolerance throughout the United States in 1954 is clearly shown by the following examples, in which the replies of the community leaders (1) are compared with the general sample in the same cities (2), and also with the general sample all over the country (3).

	(1) %	(2) %	(3) %
<i>In favour of allowing advocate of nationalisation to speak</i>	84	61	58
<i>In favour of allowing an atheist ('against churches and religion') to speak</i>	64	39	37
<i>In favour of allowing an admitted communist to speak</i>	51	29	27
<i>In favour of allowing an admitted communist to work as a shop assistant</i>	45	25	26
<i>In favour of allowing an admitted communist to teach in a college</i>	11	4	6
<i>In favour of allowing an admitted communist to work in a defence factory</i>	5	5	6

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	%	%	%
<i>Against</i> putting admitted communists in jail	63	35	34
<i>Against</i> government phone-tapping to obtain evidence against communists	33	27	27
<i>Against</i> reporting to the F.B.I. suspicions that neighbours or acquaintances may be communists	32	20	19
<i>Against</i> taking U.S. citizenship from admitted communists	27	12	13

Although the community leaders were thus more likely to be tolerant than the average American, this should not be taken to indicate any tendency to 'progressive' views. For instance leaders and rank and file were practically at one in giving the following answers to the question: 'Which do you think is the best way for America to deal with Russia now?'

	<i>Community leaders</i>	<i>National cross-section</i>
	%	%
Fight Russia	13	14
Have nothing to do with Russia	17	17
Talk over problems with Russia	62	61
Don't know	8	8

Still, is it being over-fanciful to suggest that the clear majority for 'talk' had a lot to do with Eisenhower's presence at Geneva a year later?

When asked, before any of the other questions or the subject of the enquiry had been disclosed: 'What kinds of things do you worry about most?' 80 per cent. of the national cross-section answered solely in terms of personal and family problems, especially concerning finances or health. 8 per cent. of the cross-section, but 22 per cent. of the leaders, mentioned world problems including war, while those who were primarily worried about either communism or civil liberties amounted to less than one per cent. of the cross-section and 5 per cent. of the leaders. Nevertheless this could not be attributed to lack of interest, as shown by the answers to a further question on 'following the news about Communists in the United States and what is being done about them':

	<i>Community leaders</i>	<i>National cross-section</i>
	%	%
Follow such news very closely	26	11
fairly closely	61	45
hardly at all	13	44

Those in the general sample answering 'very closely' or 'fairly closely'—a total of 2,778 persons—were termed by Stouffer the 'more interested group'. Their scores on his 'tolerance' scale were analysed in great detail in relation to their age, educational standard, area of the U.S., type of community, sex and church attendance (assessed by the question: 'Have you attended church or religious services in the last month?'). Without going into a mass of figures, the results clearly show that an American is more likely to be 'relatively tolerant' who is a *young well-educated man, living in a metropolitan area (over 100,000 population) in a Western State, who is not a regular church-goer*. And each of these 6 factors is shown to operate independently of all the others. In so far as the evidence is available, the same conclusions hold good for the community leaders, but in some cases only small samples are involved.

There is an intriguing parallelism between these results and those obtained from another question: 'Have you ever known a person you thought might be a Communist?' Only 3 per cent. of the national cross-section and 11 per cent. of the leaders said they had known an *admitted* Communist, and another 10 per cent. mentioned someone of whom they were suspicious. Referring to the reasons given by this 10 per cent., Stouffer comments:

The picture is not a pleasant one. It illustrates how the label 'Communist' may become a convenient synonym for 'that which I dislike or distrust'. Indiscriminate use of the label by public figures as an offensive weapon against measures or ideas which they oppose can hardly discourage the ordinary person from doing likewise in more limited and personal ways.*

The 3 per cent. who have been 'exposed' to a communist (Stouffer's term) do not appear to have been infected, for 78 per cent. of them returned a flat 'No' to the question: 'Do you think a man can believe in Communism and still be a loyal American?' Stouffer does not analyse these people separately on his tolerance scale, but the implication is clear that the American described above as being more likely to be relatively tolerant, is also more likely to have met a real live Communist (except that there is no differentiation by age, which is perhaps explained by restricted opportunity for the younger groups). It would not be legitimate to conclude that meeting a Communist makes an individual more tolerant, but it can be said that Communists are more likely to be found in areas and communities which tend toward more tolerant attitudes.

*A housewife from Ohio said: 'My husband's brother drinks and acts common-like. Sometimes I kind of think he is a Communist'.

An interesting pointer to the reasons why Americans dislike Communism is provided by the answers to some other questions. When asked 'How great a danger do you feel that American Communists are to this country at the present time?', 19 per cent. of the national cross-section answered 'very great', 24 per cent. 'great' and 38 per cent. 'some danger' (9 per cent. said 'hardly any', 2 per cent. said 'no danger' and 8 per cent. had no opinion). These 81 per cent. who saw at least 'some danger' were then asked: 'Why?' The replies were very varied and often vague ('They're working for Russia', 'They are awful people'), but three fairly well-defined groups could be discerned among them: 8 per cent. were fearful of *sabotage*, 8 per cent. of *espionage* and 28 per cent. of *conversion and spreading ideas*. The comparable figures for community leaders were 5, 6 and 36 per cent. Stouffer remarks that these results 'may come as a surprise to those who believe that the era of making any appreciable number of Communist converts in this country has long since passed'. They certainly suggest that the sustained witchhunting against teachers, journalists and radio and film people has been more effective than the spy-trial ballyhoo.

The replies to the question: 'What things do Communists believe in?' were also varied, but 2 big groups could be described by the labels 'Against religion' and 'For government ownership of property', the percentages being 27 and 25 for the community leaders and 29 and 24 for the 'more interested group' of the national cross-section (as defined above). When the question was asked the other way round, such views *alone* were considered sufficient to identify a Communist by 16 per cent. and 17 per cent. respectively of the national cross-section. It seems clear that non-communist atheism and non-communist socialism make a small impact upon the American people or that their opponents have successfully tagged them with the label of communism. The prominence of the 'against religion' reply is particularly significant in view of the 63 per cent. of the national cross-section who stated that they had attended church or religious services in the last month.

Some interesting information is also given in the analysis of replies from the 14 types of community leaders. While all the types of leader scored higher proportions of 'more tolerant' replies than the national cross-section, they differed considerably among themselves. In the following table, their percentage scores are listed for (1) willingness to give a Communist the right to speak; (2) willingness to tolerate nonconformity, *i.e.*, relatively 'more tolerant'; (3) aware-

ness of internal Communist threat, *i.e.*, see relatively 'great threat'; and (4) likelihood of having known a Communist.

	(1) %	(2) %	(3) %	(4) %
<i>Public officials</i>				
Mayors	39	60	34	10
Presidents, School Board	40	62	27	10
Presidents, Library Board	67	79	33	10
<i>Political Party Chairmen</i>				
Republican County Central Committee	59	70	47	16
Democratic County Central Committee	56	64	20	14
<i>Industrial Leaders</i>				
Presidents, Chamber of Commerce	46	65	28	12
Presidents, Labor Union	45	62	33	11
<i>Heads of Special Patriotic Groups</i>				
Commanders, American Legion	47	46	57	9
Regents, Daughters of the American Revolution	39	48	69	5
<i>Others</i>				
Chairmen, Community Chest	62	82	31	13
Presidents, Bar Association	63	77	33	15
Newspaper Publishers	73	84	24	19
Presidents, Women's Club	39	49	52	5
Presidents, Parent-Teachers' Association	43	68	39	5
Average of community leaders	51	66	37	11
National cross-section	27	31	43	3

As with the national cross-section, there is a general correlation between all these results: the groups which are relatively more tolerant are also relatively less aware of the 'internal Communist threat' and more likely to have met a Communist. It is perhaps unwise to draw too many conclusions from these relatively small samples, but there is a striking similarity in the scores of the representatives of capital and labour, and of both the main parties (apart from the Republican insistence on the internal Communist threat, which may be linked to the election slogan '20 years of treason'). The Bar Association presidents are near the top for tolerance, but the mixed feelings among lawyers were revealed by their answers to the question: 'Should a man be punished who says he refuses to answer questions about Communism because he does not want to testify against his former friends?' Of the Bar Association presidents 43 per cent. said he should be punished 'severely' or 'very

severely' and 41 per cent. said he should be punished 'not too severely' or 'not at all'; the comparable figures for the general cross-section were 30 per cent. and 55 per cent. respectively.

Perhaps the most significant thing about the community leaders' results is the outstanding position of the newspaper publishers, and this lends an additional interest to Leroy Gore's book. 'For thirty years' he writes, 'I have been a thoroughly respectable, thoroughly conservative, thoroughly Republican county editor. On Thursday of each week, for 1,560 consecutive weeks, I have taken a firm and uncompromising stand against such obvious evils as sin, the Democratic Party and, all too recently, those who regarded Senator McCarthy as anything less than a Grade-A Saint'. His humorous, personal account of his growing doubts; of the stern battle between conscience and expediency before he published his 'recall' editorial on March 19, 1954, and thus became a national figure overnight; of the complete amateurishness of the campaign machinery, which nevertheless shook Wisconsin from end to end and proved conclusively that millions of 'little people' throughout America were desperately 'waiting for a lead' against McCarthy; of the 8,000 letters received in the first few days, those from Wisconsin being 75 to 1 in favour, and from other States 2 to 1 against, many of them anonymous and unprintable; of the initial attempts to discredit the movement as a publicity stunt and 'bound to fail', soon superseded by an all-out attack employing political, economic and legal pressures, which led to Gore's expulsion from the Republican Party and finally forced him to sell his newspaper and leave Wisconsin; all this carries immediate conviction.

Gore's main weakness is his assumption that the evils of McCarthyism arose largely from a single individual and would vanish if he withdrew from the scene. There was more excuse for such an illusion in 1954 than there is today, and the people of Wisconsin, at any rate, could be pardoned for personalizing their hatred of fear and intolerance. Today, in the whole of the United States, men and women have begun to realise the meaning of the forces behind McCarthy and that the fight against them is not only for civil liberties but for much more. It will be a difficult struggle: for the extent to which the minds of very ordinary middle-class citizens of the United States have been darkened is obvious from these books. But of the final success of the struggle there can be no doubt.

NKRUMAH AND GOLD COAST

IDRIS COX

DURING recent years more has been written about the Gold Coast than any other British colony in Africa. This month marks the fifth anniversary of Dr. Nkrumah's striking victory in the elections of February, 1951, when the Convention People's Party won 34 out of the 38 contested seats. Nkrumah was in prison at the time, and was released as 'an act of grace' by the British Governor to enable him to take up his position as Chief Minister. In these five years, Nkrumah has maintained his leadership of the C.P.P. and is now first Prime Minister of the Gold Coast. Whatever may be the final estimation of his political record there can be no doubt that his career has been a colourful one, as may be seen from a recent biography,* written by a Gold Coast journalist.

Kwame Nkrumah was by no means the first nationalist leader in the Gold Coast. Dr. Azikiwe (now Premier in Eastern Nigeria) and Wallace Johnson (Sierra Leone) had formed the West African Youth League and were stirring the Gold Coast people into action long before Nkrumah became interested in politics. Then in 1947, Dr. Danquah launched the United Gold Coast Convention, of which Nkrumah became the General Secretary in 1948. It was not long before differences on policy arose in the leadership, and a year later Nkrumah formed the Convention People's Party.

During this period he was under heavy fire from the Colonial Office. The Watson Commission (appointed to investigate shots fired at a procession of ex-servicemen in 1948) declared that Nkrumah

appears while in Britain to have had Communist affiliations . . . (and) proposes a programme which is all too familiar to those who have studied the technique of countries which have fallen the victims of Communist enslavement . . . (and) has never abandoned his aims for a Union of West African Soviet Socialist Republics. . . .

What a contrast to the present attitude of the Colonial Office! Today it presents Nkrumah as the 'model' Prime Minister. Tory and Labour leaders proclaim him as a great statesman, whose fine example should be followed in all other colonies which are 'advancing to self-government'. During those three years, 1948-51, there is no doubt that Nkrumah expressed the growing opposition of the people to imperialist domination. Upon his release from

**Kwame Nkrumah*, by Bankole Timothy. (George Allen & Unwin, 16s.)

prison in 1951 he was even bold enough to declare 'I am a Marxian Socialist and an undenominational Christian', and claimed that 'From Lenin I took ideas for the party's local organisation'. The fact that these declarations were made (even though there is no evidence of their translation into practice) was itself significant. It revealed that the great majority of the people of the Gold Coast were not afraid to give their allegiance to a leader who was accused of association with Communist ideas. After five years Nkrumah's influence weakened considerably in the 1954 elections, following attacks that he made on some of the best C.P.P. stalwarts. The most outstanding C.P.P. victory in the 1951 elections had been that of Mr. Pobee Biney, engine-driver and trade union leader, who defeated Sir Tsibu Darku IX, the most prominent pro-British chief. Mr. Pobee Biney and Mr. Anthony Woode (both pioneers of the C.P.P.) have now been expelled for daring to attend an international conference organised by the World Federation of Trade Unions. Marxist publications and journals are banned, including the *Labour Monthly* and the *Daily Worker*. Anyone suspected of Communist views is refused employment in the public service, and regulations are enforced to cancel the passports of delegates appointed to attend any international function which is held behind the 'iron curtain' erected by British and U.S. imperialism.

While all this has not strangled the progressive movement, it has encouraged the reactionary feudal elements to raise their heads higher. Criticism, and discontent with Nkrumah, has grown, though among the progressive forces this is being silenced to some extent by the pledge that 'full self-government' would be achieved in 1956. This is therefore the time to appraise the political record and achievements of the Nkrumah Government in the past five years.

There are those who find themselves incapable of presenting an objective picture of Nkrumah's life and work, and his biographer is one of them. He is presented as a brilliant student, great orator, astute politician, talented man, and superb idealist. Whatever weaknesses exist are ascribed, not to Nkrumah, but to the 'yes-men', and the shortage of 'efficient men' in the leadership. Equally, Mr. Fenner Brockway, in a review of this book elsewhere, gives a fanciful vision of great advances in education and health services under Nkrumah. Of course, there has been a limited improvement. No Government could exist unless these services were raised above the disgraceful level of 1951, but there is no evidence of any basic change in economic and social conditions.

The truth is that imperialism still dominates the Gold Coast. Its economy and trade are attuned to the interests of imperialism. Wages are on a starvation level, and only 6 per cent. of the workers are engaged in manufacture. Though Nkrumah is the Prime Minister the decisive powers of government are in the hands of the British Governor. The main banks, insurance firms, shipping companies, mining firms, oil firms, manufacture, and import merchants are owned and controlled by British and other foreign interests. The United Africa Company alone (subsidiary of Unilever) controls one-third of the import trade and is the biggest licensed buying agent for the Cocoa Marketing Board. Daily minimum wage rates vary from 3s. for unskilled workers to 6s. for semi-skilled, and a maximum of 10s. for skilled workers—with an average of 45 to 50 hours a week. Food prices have doubled since 1948. There is no system of unemployment insurance, free medical service or widows' and old age pensions. There is one doctor for every 22,000 of the population, and one registered dentist for every 70,000. This is in contrast to the enormous wealth which is taken out of the Gold Coast. In the nine years since the war the surplus of exports over imports totalled £150 million and is now at the rate of £44 million a year. Sterling assets of the Gold Coast in British banks are now over £160 million, and record profits are being made by the big overseas firms. The country is mainly dependent on cocoa; the high price of cocoa on the world market enables the Government to extract enormous export duties from cocoa. A serious decline in the artificial high level of cocoa prices would destroy the main prop of the Gold Coast Budget. It is not surprising that the cocoa farmers (who have to sell their cocoa at one-third the market price) should express their discontent. They represent only one factor among the several divergent streams of opposition to the Nkrumah Government, which is now being canalised by the National Liberation Movement.

The Gold Coast is made up of four main territories. These include the northern territories (mainly feudal), Ashanti (main cocoa area), Togoland (trust territory), and the Colony (in the south). The N.L.M. has its base in Ashanti and brings together discontented elements varying from cocoa farmers, feudal elements demanding greater autonomy, and former C.P.P. leaders. This itself is a 'mixed-bag' but it is now actively co-operating with even more mixed elements, including the Northern People's Congress and the Togoland Congress. Even before the growth of this heterogeneous movement, the 1954 elections had revealed a serious decline in Nkrumah's

influence. His biographer claims that only one in four of the electors voted against the C.P.P. It is a mystery where he gets these figures from. The official results show that the total poll was 716,509 (59 per cent. of the registered electors). In the north the opposition vote was double that of the C.P.P. In Togoland it was slightly higher, and in Ashanti slightly lower. Only in the south did the C.P.P. win a substantial majority of votes over the opposition. It got 70 per cent. of the seats due only to the unequal distribution of them. This combined opposition of diverse political trends presents a serious challenge to the Nkrumah Government. If it succeeds there is no guarantee that it would represent a step forward—and it could mean a serious backward step. All the more reason for Nkrumah to recognise that the advance of the Gold Coast towards complete self-government depends on the extent to which the working class and progressive elements become the vanguard of liberation. It will depend not on vain professions of being 'Marxian Socialists' but the application of Marxism to the actual struggle to make the Gold Coast free and independent.

The Convention People's Party was born in the struggle against British imperialism. When its leadership stimulated the masses in this great fight, the British Government was forced to make big concessions. When the struggle is renewed, and on a higher plane, then the Gold Coast will come into its own.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

BOOKS

- Peter the First, by A. Tolstoy. Lawrence & Wishart. 796 pp. 12s. 6d.
 Mozart's Letters, Editor, Eric Blom. Pelican Books. 278 pp. 3s. 6d.
 The Siege, by Arthur Campbell. Allen & Unwin. 212 pp. 12s. 6d.
 Mayakovsky and his Poetry, by Herbert Marshall. Central Books. 196 pp. 12s. 6d.
 The Poverty of Philosophy, by Karl Marx. Lawrence & Wishart. 256 pp. 3s.
 I Speak My Own Piece, by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Masses & Mainstream, New York. 326 pp. \$1.75.
 U.S.A. Today, by Helen and Scott Nearing. Social Science Institute. 245 pp. \$2.25.
 Lenin: A Biography. Lawrence & Wishart. 272 pp. 7s. 6d.
 The Labour Government & British Industry, by A. A. Rogow & P. Shore. Blackwell. 196 pp. 18s.

PAMPHLETS

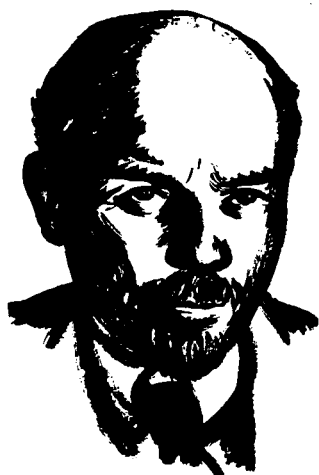
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| <p>The Housing Cuts Explained. L.R.D. Publications Ltd. 16 pp. 6d.
 Twenty Four for Peace: Poems by Tom Malcolm. 32 pp. 1s.
 The Party of Socialism, by John Mahon. 16 pp. 3d.
 The Communist Party and the Labour Party, by Harry Pollitt. 12 pp. 3d.
 The Future for Miners, by Les Ellis. 16 pp. 3d.
 Time for More in the Pay Packet, by Sam Henderson. 16 pp. 3d.
 Rents Must Not Go Up, by Malcolm MacEwen. 12 pp. 3d.
 Our Aim is Socialism. 24 pp. 6d.
 The Role of the Communist Party. 20 pp. 6d.
 Win the Local Councils. 24 pp. 6d.</p> | <p style="font-size: 3em;">}</p> | <p>The
Communist
Party.</p> |
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Book Reviews

THE HISTORY OF PRINTING

Five Hundred Years of Printing, by S. H. Steinberg. (277 pp. Pelican Books. 3s. 6d.)

INTO a little over 250 pages the author has condensed the development of printing and book publishing since it began in Europe in the fifteenth century. Perhaps a more accurate title would have been *Five Hundred Years of Printing in Europe*; for in China it had been practised nearly 900 years before that. Here we begin with the Mainz goldsmith, Johannes Gensfleisch Gutenberg, who, after experimenting with movable type during years of political exile, began printing in 1450 the Bible and a popular encyclopædia. Within five years 'the inventor of the art of printing who has deserved well of every nation and language', to quote his epitaph, had lost presses and types to the man who had lent him the money to start—the bad, old, familiar fate of inventors and innovators. Thence follows a useful and informative chronicle; it is scarcely a history. Sections, stimulating to readers who can fit a vast quantity of facts which he gives into the economic, historical and social background which he does not, are 'Printing in the Vernacular', and its influence in standardising national languages and spelling; and sections on 'Publishers and Patrons', 'Censorship' and 'Official and Private Presses' in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While he gives little of the period of the struggle for bourgeois democratic rights in the period of the English Revolution, he does find room for brief quotations from Milton's pamphlet against censorship, *Areopagitica*, including the famous remark: 'Who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?'



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But the vast expansion of printing and publishing, of course, took place in the last 150 years, beginning with the unprecedented development of productive forces which capitalist economy first made possible (and now makes impossible). The last third of the book covering this period is less satisfactory; it includes, for example, an inadequate section on censorship, which is also marred by anti-Socialist prejudices. Mr. Steinberg does not refer to the 1947 Royal Commission on the Press; but *Labour Monthly* readers can correct the balance by re-reading the evidence presented to it by the editorial board, published in the April, 1948, issue.

Besides a useful bibliography, there are 32 plates of fine illustrations, ranging from the first English poster by Caxton (1477) and a beautiful type specimen sheet from Germany (1486) to a glorious page (1896) by William Morris, 'the father of modern printing'. It may be a tribute to the quickened attention to typography aroused by this speedy passage through 500 years of printing that one notes with a sense of astonishment a few printers' errors, such as those on pages 6 and 37.

ANGELA TUCKETT

SOCIAL INSECTS

Bees, by I. Khalifman. (366 pp. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow; Central Books, London. 7s. 6d.)

THIS little book (Stalin Prize, 1951) is not a practical guide to beekeeping, it is an exceptional piece of biological popularisation—the account, both thrilling and thought-provoking, of one of the most extraordinary phenomena in the animal world, a social insect. In the case of the honey-bee, familiarity disguises from many what is really a marvel, the development of the colony until it has its own life history and its own heredity, superseding—as the unit of species—the individual, which is no longer capable of an independent existence. Here, extremely ably—dramatically yet kindly—are narrated the facts of this extraordinary story. Unfortunately this English version is not produced with the care which has so much improved the general standard of Soviet English-language literary publication in the last few years. The translation is sometimes stilted; there are discrepancies, *e.g.*, we learn only incidentally from an illustration—on hives—that there is an African *Melipona*, the text leaves us to infer that it is only American; and it is an imposition on English-language readers of a popular work to leave metric measures unconverted. These minor flaws should not, however, discourage anyone from devouring this simple account, that experts cannot cavil at and non-specialists will find an eye-opener.

IVOR MONTAGU

Communication

The Editor,
Labour Monthly.

Sir:

'CONSTRUCTIVE IMPERIALISM'

While glad of the good things that R.P.D. says about my book, I should like to say that his frank criticism makes this notice the most stimulating and helpful the book has had.

Let me please make it clear that I had no intention of promoting any kind of theory of 'constructive imperialism'. There is indeed no such thing; and never will be. What I thought I was doing was to show some of the new—here and there, radically new—conditions under which the struggle for equality and independence, the African struggle for national liberation, will now develop. That was the sense in which I wrote of a 'constructive period'.

But I also think that R.P.D. is right in saying that I seem to suggest imperialism can have this 'constructive period'. And I also think that some of my book does suggest either that national liberation for Africans will come 'through the forces of history' in a mechanical and automatic way, or else that 'a little more liberalism' by the imperialists can do the trick. Both views, I am sure, are entirely misleading, and, to the extent they are present in my book, serious weaknesses.

Further thought and reading since I wrote this book some 18 months

ago lead me to agree with R.P.D. that I have underestimated the high quality and achievement of pre-European African history. But not, perhaps, nearly as much as R.P.D. says. I think I know most of the solid archaeological evidence so far published; and there is, it seems to me, *no* foundation in my book for R.P.D.'s stricture that the historical evidence 'is throughout somewhat forcefully adapted to the theory of the incapacity of social development of the African peoples until the European conquest came to save them'. On the contrary, I think I make it plain that Africans achieved social, cultural, and economic growth (before the Europeans came) such as to prove their natural and inherent equality with any and every other branch of humanity. It does no service to the African cause to stretch the archaeological evidence beyond the point it can credibly take us to.

R.P.D.'s comment on the social breadth of African struggle is valuable criticism which I accept. Obviously I should have given more attention and importance both to the peasantry and to the emergent 'middle class'—inverted commas still necessary. To do less is to fall, as R.P.D. says, into the old mistake of the 'legal Marxists'.

Yours faithfully,

BASIL DAVIDSON

CONTENTS OF JANUARY, 1956

New Worlds for Old, R.P.D.; *Watch this Washington Visit*, Quæstor; *Not a Penny on the Rent*, Phil Piratin; *The Trade that Butler Stops*, John Eaton; *The Real Americans*, John Williamson; *Western Values* (I), Sancho Panza; *Bloodless*, William Gallacher. BOOK REVIEW: *African Awakening* (Basil Davidson); reviewed by R.P.D.

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and the Middle East. Another is implicit in the article of *Youth Under the Microscope*, and winning young people to play their full part in working class organisations. The third obstacle, all that is bound up with the question of leadership, is the thought-provoking subject of R.P.D.'s Notes. This number, studied with the question in mind: 'How can the tempo of change be speeded "even here" in Britain?' will, I believe, make the exact job and value of T.M. even more apparent to readers. Compare, for instance, how two very different readers put it. A veteran engineering trade unionist in the United States calls it 'the educator and guide for all workers for the coming day when we shall be free to work out the problems of a new society'. A militant Left-wing Labour man in a Southern county says: 'Through the conflicts, contradictions, lies and suppressions of the time, R.P.D.'s Notes charter a course

of truth for me—a magnificent contribution to the working class movement'. I ask every reader who agrees with these views to get down to the job of using this number to win new readers, above all among the young people, who need the best help to resist the fierce pressures before, during and after their bitter two years, when they are put to forced service to imperialism. Last month we mentioned places where readers are already at it—trades councils, trade union branches, conferences and meetings; public libraries; getting newsagents to display; on the job (building sites, loco sheds, at the bench, down the pit); and the use of the free specimen copy and Midget schemes (see back cover). Who are those prospective new readers? All people like yourselves, your sons and daughters, who want that state of human happiness and seek a speedy end to the reign of the Wolf and the Lion.

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